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The Life and Times of Ativirarama Pandya

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I

The Tirunelveliperumals.

A STUDY of the inscriptions of the later Pandyas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that they came to be called as Tirunelveliperumals. As the name denotes, they were the rulers of the Tirunelveli country. The records of these rulers are largely confined to the modern Tinnevelly district. A peculiar feature of these inscriptions is that they give for these rulers both the regnal and Saka years. Further these later Pandyas of Tirunelveli region invariably claim in their records a long list of royal *birudas*, some of which at least they must have borrowed from the Madura sovereigns. Since the exact relation of the Pandyas of Tirunelveli to the Pandyas of Madura is not clearly known, a thorough examination of the records of the Tirunelveliperumals might help to establish their relationship. The Pudukottai grant contains a few distinguishing *birudas* of the Tirunelveliperumals and the chief of them are :–(1) Chief of Jayantimangala (2) (the God) Narasimha in destroying the giants (who are enemies) of peace (3) the sun to the darkness *viz* the Keralas; (4) the submarine fire to the ocean of Cholas; (5) who broke the crown of India by (the strength) his bracelet; (6) who was reigning supreme in (the field of) literature; (7) who pleased the Gods and Brahmans; (8) who was the lord of the town of Madura, and (9) who drove his enemies by his anger (alone). It is significant that none of these appear in the case

of the Madura Pandyas of the 12th and 13th centuries. For instance, Kulasekharadeva (the father of Ativirarama Pandya) who ruled from A. D. 1551 to 1563, had the real name of Tirunelveliperumal which has been rendered into Sanskrit as Salivatipati. The big temple of Siva in Tinnevelly, commonly known as Nelliappar temple is still referred to in the daily pujas and ceremonies of the temple as that of Salvatiswarer temple. The reference in the birudas of the Tirunelveliperumals as those who excelled in the field of literature is no empty boast as is evidenced by the literary achievements of Tirunelveliperumal Kulasekhara, Ativirarama I and his cousin Varatungarama, Ativirarama II etc. For instance, Tirunelveliperumal Kulasekara who assumed the name of Vira-vel when he was crowned, seeing that all flower garlands would fade away sooner or later, wore a garland of verses sung in praise of him by poets in the Venba metre.

It should however be noted that as the later Pandyas had shifted from Madura to Tirunelveli country, some of the titles still assumed by them such as Tribhuvanachakravarti, Ko-jatila-varman Kulasekhar etc., are no more than mere ornamental epithets and the Tirunelveli Pandyas were subordinate to the ruler of Vijayanagar and under the immediate overlordship of the Vijayanagar Nayak rulers at Madura.

II

The predecessors of Ativirarama.

Ativirarama Pandya is one of the foremost of the last line of Pandyas who ruled with Tenkasi as the royal capital. The founder of the Tenkasi line of Pandyas was Arikesari Parakrama whose name is inseperably associated with the building of the famous Visvanathasvamin temple at Tenkasi and who made Tenkasi the capital of the later line of Tirunelveli Pandyas. His accession according to Kielhorn is A. D. 1422[1] and his latest known date is A. D. 1461. Among the successors of Arikesari Parakrama Pandya, Srivallabha, the establisher of the Pandyan Kingdom, whose epigraphs range from 1534 to 1543 A. D., is sufficiently well known by the numerous lithic records that are now available. The initial date of this ruler is about 1534 A. D. Apparently this Srivallabha died without leaving any issue and the succession passed on to the Abhirama-Parakrama line.

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1. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 17

The rulers of this line are known as Tirunelveliperumals of whom Tirunelveliperumal Kulasekhara or Salvatipati (1551–1563 A. D.) and his son and successor Ativirarama Pandya I stand foremost. In fact Ativirarama I is one of the illustrious rulers of the later line of Pandyas. Between Arikesari Parakrama, the founder of the Tenkasi line of Pandayas and Ativirarama Pandyas, there is an intervening period of 100 years, and though we know something of the rulers during this period, their exact relationship and their achievements are not fully known.

III

Sources of information.

The main source of information for the study of Ativirarama and his times is the large number of inscriptions all over the modern Tinnevelly district. The villages of Sengottai, Sambur-Vadakarai etc., adjoining Tenkasi contain a number of inscriptions of the later Pandyas. The epigraphs of the Visvanathasvamin temple at Tenkasi are of particular interest in providing valuable chronological information regarding the period and the two inscriptions of Ativirarama Pandya at Sambur Vadagari throw some light on his reign. One of the important documents for the reign of Ativirarama Pandya is the Pudukottai grant [1]

Many unpublished lithic records throw sidelight on the relationship existing between the later Pandyas and the Nayaks of Madura and consequently between them and the suzerain lord, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. The records also help us in the elucidation of some periods in the history of Tamil literature; for example, the age of Ativirarama Pandya, the author of the famous Tamil poem *Naishadam* and of Varatungarama Pandya, the no less illustrious cousin of the former (who wrote the Brahmottara-Kandam etc.,) could be fixed definitely.

The Pudukottai plate[2] is an inscription in eight copper plates (A. R. E. 1906-Appendix A) originally found with some Brahman ryots

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1. A. R. E. 1906, p. 72.
2. The actual donor of the grant was a certatn Tirumala Nayaka of Chintalapalli who was the minister of Virappa Nayaka of Madura and who fought the battle of Vallaprakara in which the troops of Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore were completely defeated.

of the village of Pudukottai in Srivilliputtur. The record is in Sanskrit language and Grantha character. It is dated Saka 1505 (cyclical year Subhanu = A. D. 1538-84) during the reign of two Pandya kings named Srivallabha and Varatungarama. Saka 1505 is said to have been the 21st year after the coronation of Ativirarama Srivallabha. This therefore yields A. D. 1562–63 for his coronation and therefore the king may be identified with Ativirarama Srivallabha of a stone inscription found at Tenkasi (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p. 16).

The Pudukottai grant gives a short geneology of the donors of follows :—

- (1) Abhirama Parakrama (verse II)
  - (6) Parakrama Pandya (verse 16) alias Kulasekhara (verse 29)
    - Gunarama (verse 31)
    - Varatungarama (verse 32)
  - (7) Salivatipati (verse 16)
    - Ativirarama (verse 18)
    - (9) Srivallabha (verses 19 & 20)
- (2) Ahavarama (Verse 13)
  - (3) Srivallabha found the Pandyarajya (verse 14)
  - (4) Srivallabha (verse 15)
  - (5) Manabharama (verse 15)

The Pudukottai plates contain a detailed geneology of the later Pandyas. It begins with the pauranic and mythical geneology and the document then proceeds to the real historical pedigree. It says that in this dynasty were born two brothers named Abhirama Parakrama and Ahavarama. The latter had a son called Srivallabha renowned as the establisher of the Pandyan kingdom. In the family to which this Srivallabha belonged were born another Srivallabha and a Manabharama and the latter built the temple of Visvanatha at Tenkasi. To Abhirama Parakrama were born two sons Parakrama and Salvatipati. The latter had two sons of whom one was named Ativirarama Pandya, a master in literary composition. After his

death his brother Srivallabha was crowned by the ministers. Parakrama the first son of Abhirama Parakrama begot two sons, Gunarama and Varatungarama.

The actual name of Salvatipati (i. e. No. 7 of the Pudukottai plate) was Tirunelveliperumal, who was the father of Ativirarama Pandya I. Ativirarama Pandya I (No. 8 of the Pudukottai plate) is well known to students of Tamil literature in particular and Varatungarama (No. 11 of the Pudukottai plates) was a cousin of Ativirarama. There are some difficulties in accepting completely the statements made in the Pudukottai grant regarding Ativirarama. The Pudukottai grant which is dated Saka 1505 purports to belong to the reign of Srivallabha, brother of Ativirarama Pandya, whom, on the date on which this document was written, it takes as dead. According to Mr. Krishna Sastri, the grantor of the Pudukottai plates was Ativirarama Srivallabha. We know certainly enough that Ativirarama lived even after Saka 1505. Ativirarama built the large temple of Kulasekhara Mudaiyar at Tenkasi and another of Vishnu near it and these building activities must have taken place over a fairly long period, and considering all these, it is difficult to accept the statement that he was dead sometime previous to Saka 1505.

The Pudukottai grant gives a geneology which is not a complete one, for the numerous names in stone inscriptions are not mentioned in that copper plate grant and its geneology may be taken only as a convenient starting point. Another valuable record for the times of Ativirarama is the Muvaraivenran Copper plates (A. R. E. 1912 No. 1 of Appendix A). These plates are dated in the 30th year of Jatilavarman Srivallabha, and in the Saka year 1515, expressed by the chronogram Sakamanya. This date enables us to identify the king with Ativirarama Srivallabha of the Pudukottai grant who succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1562. The early part of the copper plates is legendary, and then mentions Abhirama Parakrama Pandya; his son was Vrihivritisa and the latter's son Abhirama Ativirarama I who received the surname Srivallabhadeva on his ascending the throne and the list of *birudas* that follows indicates Ativirarama to be the ruling sovereign. It also mentions Abhirama Ativirarama II who imitated his father both in character and in name, The geneology supplied by the plates. though only partial agrees mostly with the Pudukottai grant of Ativirarama Srivallaba (A. R. E. 1906 ,p. 72

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1. T. A. S. Extract 26, Inscription No. XIII

Table). An additional name supplied by the grant is Abhirama Ativirarama II, son of Ativirarama I. It may be noted that Salvatipati (No. 7 of the Pudukottai plates) is alluded in this grant by periphrasis Vrihivrit svara, and that of Ativirarama I bears the surnames Abhirama and-Srivallabha. It thus makes it appear that the three kings, Varatungarama, Srivallabha and Abhirama Ativirarama II are contemporaneous.

Nearly a hundred inscriptions of Ativirarama I have been deciphered by an intensive survey of the temples of the Tirunelveli district, and of Tenkasi taluk in particular, These inscriptions give here and there astronomical data which have been utilised to yield results of value to the chronology of the period. Further the inscriptions throw some light on the administrative machinery and practice of the time. They give us some ideas of the extent of the territories, the taxes and dues of various kinds and also about the religion. arts and crafts of the time. It is true that the material revealed by these inscriptions is discontinuous and does not therefore provide a systematic and continuous narrative of the political history of the later Tirunelveli Pandyas but they enable us to form a general picture of the social and political life of the country.

Perhaps there is no ruler of the later Pandyan dynasty for whose reign there is such a copious literature as that of Ativirarama. Since Ativirarama himself was a scholar of great repute, among the Tamil poets of the 16th century, there are numerous literary references to Ativirarama and his times and his own literary composition is authentic testimony to the cultural atmosphere of his time. The monumental evidence in the form of some of the temples built by Ativirarama during his life time add to our knowledge of the period. Traces of the royal palace, and the underground passage from Kulasekharamudaiyar temple to the royal palace are still found and it will amply repay the spade of the archaeologist if the Archaeological department would dig up the site in Puliyur near Tenkasi which might give us some glimpses of the monumental remains of the rulers of that time.

IV

Ativirarama I — His birth and parentage.

His natal star was Punarvasu (A. R. E. 490, 495 and 529 of 1918. also Extract 26 Travancore Archaeological Series II, Vol. I, p. 278):

His brother was Srivallabha, a name which belongs also to Ativirarama. The Pudukottai grant is the only record which mentions that Ativirarama had a brother. It appears that Kulasekhara had named his two sons with the same name, but such a thing is not uncommon in the history of the later Pandyas. One of the epigraphs of Tirunelveliperumal Kulasekhara (A. R. E 621 of 1918) clearly refers to Ativirarama I as the son of Tirunelveliperumal Kulasekhara. We know little of the early days of Ativirarama.

A number of inscriptions reveal the fact that Ativirarama spent a good part of his early days in Tirunelveli and administered the territories as heir-apparent. It is clear from some of the inscriptions that he issued 'olai' or instructions to royal officers on behalf of his father. Such co-regency seems to be quite common since the days of Arikesrai Parakrama, the founder of the Tenkasi line. Ativirarama who thus spent most of his early days in the Tirunelveli region shifted to Tenkasi the royal capital only at the time of his accession and the Viswanathaswami temple inscription clearly records the fact that he shifted from Tirunelveli where he resided to Tenkasi where his coronation took place.

V

His titles.

A large number of inscriptions are now available relating to the reign of Ativirarama ranging between Saka 1483 and 1527. In one of the inscriptions (A. R. E. 617 of 1918, Appendix B; also A. R. E. 591 and 592 of 1926 dated Saka 1493) he is called Alagan Perumal Ativirarama Srivallabha, the son of Tirunelveliperumal Viravenbamalai alias Kulasekharadeva. The historical introduction of this inscription begins with the word Bhuvanikivira, but is slightly different from that commonly found in most of the records of these kings and it seems to suggest that he was probably a subordinate of the Vijayanagar king Venkata I (A. R. E. 1916, p. 37). His surname was Abhirama and other *birudas* are mentioned in the Muvaraivenran grant of Abhirama Ativirarama II (A. R. E. 1912, p. 40). Ativirarama I had other titles as Ṣivaḷavel, Srivallabha,

Kulasekhara, Sivalamaran etc.[1] His laudatory verses resemble closely that of his father in having a large admixture of Sanskrit terms.

VI

Ativirarama I - His accession.

Ativirarama's date of accession is A D. 1563.[2] Two epigraphs from Tenkasi (A. R. E. 201 and 202 of 1895), according to the calculations of Kielhorn fix the initial date for Ativirarama as A. D. 1563. According to one of the epigraphs (A. R. E. 484 of 1909) the initial date for Ativirarama is A. D. 1562 which must be the date of his appointment as heir apparent; for the actual date of his coronation is. stated to be A. D. 1564 (A. R. E. 509 of 1909) which, as in the case of his father was perhaps two years later than the date of his actual accession to the throne. The actual Tamil year of his accession as stated in one of the epigraphs is (பிரஜோத்பத்தி வருஷம், வைகாசி மீ 15-ம் தேதிக்கு முன்) the Tamil year-Prajothpathi, month Vaikasi, dated 15th [3]

The Tenkasi inscriptions of Ativirarama show that his coronation took place in A. D. 1564[4]. The Visvanathaswami temple inscription reads thus :

சகன் காலமாயிரத்து நர்னூற்றெண்
  பத்தர்றிற் சலதி சூழ்ந்த
செகங்காண வீரத்தாக்கி சித்திரையி
  லிருபதாந் தேதி வேந்தர்

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1. சகன் கால மாயிரத்து நானூற்றெண்
  பத்தாறிற் சலதி சூழ்ந்த
செகங்காண வீரத்தாக்கி சித்திரையி
  லிருபதாங் தேதி வேந்தர்
புகழ்தேவல் செயப்பூர்வ திதியாறில்
  முதல்வாரம் புனர்பூ சத்திற்
சுகந்தாதி புனையழகன் சீவலவே
  ளென மகுடஞ் சூடினனே. (Tenkasi Temple Inscription)

2. { A. R. E. 201 and 202 of 1895 as regards initial date.
  ,, 1909, p. 32

3. T. A. S. Vol. I, 278

4. A. R. E. 1910, p. 38; T. A. S. Vol. 1, p. 106

புகழ்ர்தேவல் செயப்பூர்வ திதியாறில்
முதல் வாரம் புணர்பூசத்திற்
சுகந்தாதி புனையழகன் சீவலவே
ளென மகுடஞ் சூடினானே ”

Thus the actual coronation took place in the Tamil year Rakthatchi, month Chitrai; 20th; Purvatpatcha Shasti; Punarvasu nakshtra, Saka 1486 and the corresponding English year A. D. 1564.

Before his formal accession, Ativirarama figured as the secretary[1] of the king Tirunelveliperumal Kulasekhara and thus seems to have taken a leading part in the administration during the reign of his father. That he took part in the administration as heir apparent in the days of his father and issued *olai* (instructions) to several officers is specifically referred to thus: [2]

“கோஜடிலவர்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்தி கோனேரின்மை கொண்டான் திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் வீர வெண்பா மாலையான் தன்மப் பெருமாள் குலசேகர தேவர் நந்தனாரான அழகம் பெருமாள் அதி வீர ராம ரான ஸ்ரீவல்லப தேவர்க்கு ஆண்டு மூன்றாவது குரோதன ஸம்வத்ஸரத்து உத்தராயணத்து ஹேமந்த ருதுவில் மகர ஞாயிற்று ஆறுந்தேதி பூர்வபட்சத்துத் திரயோதசியும் பிரகஸ்பதி வாரமும் மாகேந்திர யோகமும்

வராஹகரணமும் பெற்ற மிருகர்ஷத்து நாள் உலகு சிந்தாமணி வளநாட்டுக் கிடாரத்து இராக்குதப் பெருமாள் கள்ளப்பிரான் சீவலக் கலிங்க ராயனுக்கு சீ பண்டாரக் கணக்கும் திருவாழியும் கண்காணியும் திருமாலையும் காணியாட்சியாகக் கற்பிக்கும்படிக்கு நம் தம்பிரான் அழகம் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்லப தேவன் நம் வாசற்காரியம் நாயினானுக்கும் தானக்கணக்கு சொக்கன் கண்டிய தேவனுக்கும் தானிகருக்கும் ஓலைவர விடுகையில்........ஆசந்திரதாரம் சந்ததி பிரவேசமே செம்பிலும் சிலையிலும்வெட்டிக் கையாண்டு கொள்ளவும்”

“சார்வ பௌம கோஜடிலவர்மரான...... குலசேகர தேவர் நந்தனாரான அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமரான ஸ்ரீ வல்லப தேவர்க்கு ஆண்டு 8-வது பிரமோதூத ஸம்வத்ஸரத்து......கந்நிரவியும் அபர பட்சத்து ஏகாதசியும் சோமவாரமும் சுபயோகமும் சிம்மகரணம் பெற்ற புஷ்ய நட்சத்திரத்து நாள் காச்யப கோத்திரத்து போதாயன சூத்திரத்துத் திருமேனியழகியான் பிரமாதராயன் தண்டைக்கால பிரதமராயனுக்குப் பண்டுடையானும் பழம்பேரையும் தவிர்த்து முப்பது வட்டமும் நம் அர்ச்சனைக் காணியாச்சையாக கல்பித்தபடிக்கு நம்தம்பிரான் அழகம் பெருமாள்

1. A. R. E. 403, 481, 511, 591 and 492 of 1918.
2. T. A. S. Vol. I. p. 277

அதிவீரராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர் ஓலை நம் வாசல்...க்கு வரவிடுகையில் நம் காரியம் ராமநாதனும் கணக்கின்படி விட்ட குறுமறை நாட்டு விந்தனூர் பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ் நிலம்......எப்பேர்ப்பட்ட சமஸ்த பிராப்திகளும் ஆசந்திரதாரவது சந்ததி பிரவேசமே செம்பிலும் [சிலையிலும்] வெட்டிக் கையாண்டு கொள்ளவும்"[1]

As heir apparent in the days of his father, he entrusted the administration of the Visvanathaswamin temple at Tenkasi to one Visvanatha Mudali and got the royal permission from his father (S. I. I. V. No. 766) and the administration of the temple at Kalakad to one Tiruvarunatha Perumal (T. A. S. I, 276).

Ativirarama's reign which began in A. D. 1563 seems to have extended upto 1605, the 42nd year of his reign as evidenced by the inscriptions available so far.[2]

VII

Ativirarama's administration.

His capital :—

Korkai was still claimed to be the nominal capital of the later Pandyas but the real capital from the days of Arikesari Parakrama (A. D. 1422-1461) was Tenkasi. Ativirarama's royal capital was also Tenkasi. We know already from the Tenkasi inscriptions that his coronation took place at Tenkasi. An inscription relating to the 42nd year of his reign is significant and may be quoted here :—

"சுபமஸ்து ஆதிசண்டேச்வராஞ்ஞேயம் சகாப்தம் 1527ன் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற சுவஸ்தி ஸ்ரீபுவனேக வீரமதுராமகேந்திர ஜயந்தி மங்கள புரவாரதீசுவர க்ஷேமேச்வர சிம்மள கேரளதமோதி வாகரசோள சிந்து வடபானல சங்கீதசாஹித்திய சார்வபௌமதேவப் பிராமணஸ்தாபனா சாரிய கோஜடில பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்ரவர்த்திகள் கோனேர்மை கொண்டான் ஸ்ரீபெருமாள், அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்லபத்தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு 42-வது..."

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1. Travancore Archaeological series Vol i. 278

2. A. R. E. 605 of 1917, The inscription in the Courtallam temple runs :

"சகாப்தம் 1527ன்மேல் செல்லாநின்ற...கோஜடில வர்ம்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்தி கோ னேரின்மை கொண்டான ஸ்ரீ அழககண்ணரான அதிவீர ராமரான ஸ்ரீவல்லப்ப தேவர்க்கு ஆண்டு 42-வது விசுவாசு ஸ்ம்வத் ஸரத்து"

It is reasonable to suppose from the above laudatory verses and the epigraph that Ativirarama shifted his residence from Tirunelveli where he stayed during the life time of his father to Tenkasi as his royal capital.

Extent of his territories :—

His rule extended over an area bounded by Madhura in the north, Jayantipura in the East, Mahendragiri i. e. Nanjilnadu in the south and Mangalapura (which is identified with a place in the north-west border of Vaippar.) His inscriptions abound only in this region, though a few are found in other places, Though his *birudas* refer to him as a great warrior, we do not have any details of his conquests.

His reign seems on the whole to be a period of comparative peace and prosperity. Numerous inscriptions of Ativirarama I show that he endowed the Brahmins liberally and encouraged them to settle in his territories. His administration seems to have been just and benevolent. The extent of his dominion may be mapped roughly from the evidence available in inscriptions, It is quite clear from epigraphic records so far available that Ativirarama ruled for 42 years, as one of the epigraphs (the Courtallam temple inscriptions) clearly refers to the 42nd year of his reign. Per contra the Pudukottai plates refer to the fact that after the death of Ativirarama his royal cousin Varatungarama came to the throne,[1] The Pudukottai plate is dated Saka 1505 (i. e. A. D. 1583). Dr. Caldwell in his History of Tinnevelly[2] observes :—Vikrama Pandaya began to rule from A. D. 1543 and mostly without any break ; Ativirarama alias Vallabhadeva, according to one of the Courtallam temple inscriptions, came to the throne in A D. 1565 and this epigraph refers to the 40th year of his reign i. e. A. D. 1605.

The inscription at Tenkasi refers to the date of accession of Ativirarama as A. D. 1562 and in this epigraph he is referred to as Ativirarama and not as Vallabhadeva. According to Dr. Burnell, one of the Tanjore copper-plates leads us to infer that Ativirarama might have died by 1610 A. D. and the same plate refers to the succession of Sundara Pandya after Ativirarama. We know now that

1. Sloka 19, T. A. S. I, 65.
2. History of Tinnevelly by Dr. Caldwell, pp. 53-54

Varatungarama came to the throne in Kali 4689 i. e A. D. 1587,[1] We cannot therefore accept the statement of the Pudukottai plates regarding the death of Ativirarama. From epigraphic records so far available, it is reasonable to assume that he reigned for more than 40 years.

In several inscriptions of Ativirarama, his cousin. Varatungarama figures prominently[2] either jointly issuing the *olai* with the king (A. R. E. 595, 597 and 482 of 1918) or independently making gifts of land by himself and it seems Varatungarama was his co-regent.

One of the eipigraphs (A. R. E 528 of 1909) mentions Abhirama Chakravarti Varatungarama and is dated in the 21st year of Ativirarama Srivallabha and this shows that the former may have to be identified with Varatungarama of the Pudukottai plates who was co-regent with Ativirarama.

Kulasekhara Parakrama Alagan Sokkan also appears to have been ruling with Ativirarama in as much as his initial date supplied by an epigraph (A.R.E. 482 of 1909) falls into the reign of Ativirarama.

According to D. Caldwell[3], with Ativirarama, the Pandyan line practically came to a close, but we can no longer accept this antiquated statement regarding the later rulers of this dynasty. The Pudukottai grant affirms that after Ativirarama came his brother Srivallabha and we also know that Varatungarama Pandya was also a direct successor of his. The Pudukottai plate informs us that Ativirarama Srivallabha and Varatungarama ruled jointly, while from the Muvaraivenran grant, we learn that Abhirama Ativirarama II was also reigning perhaps independently of Ativirarama I and Varatungarama in some portion of his paternal estate.

Ativirarama I as a patron of art.

He endowed various temples as is evidenced by the inscriptions of his reign. Of his building activities we may mention first that he

1. T. A. S. I, p. 116 (Tenkasi temple inscription).

2. A. R. E. 595, 596, 597. 603 of 1918; also 582, 584, 598, 602, 603, 604.

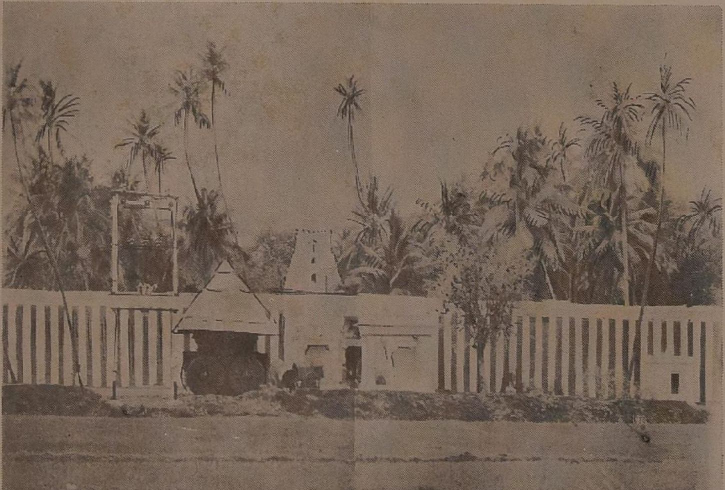
3. History of the Tinnevelly District by Caldwell.

URTHAVA TANDAVAM
(Tinnevelly Temple)

VENUGOPAL
(Tinnevelly Temple)

MANMATHA
(Tinnevelly Temple)

RATHI
(Tinnevelly Temple)



ILAÑJI TEMPLE (Tenkasi Taluk) built by Ativirarama Pandya.

built the pretty large temple of Kulasekharamudaiyar at Tenkasi in honour of his father Kulasekhara.[1] He also built another shrine to Vishnu[2] very near the former under the name of Sivala-Vinnavar-Emberuman. He constructed another shrine for Sokkanatha in the Visvanathasvamin temple and provided for its worship.[3] He also built a temple of Siva i. e. the temple of Subrahmanya at Ilangi and the mulasthana deities of the two Siva temples that he built are known as Kulasekharamudaiyar. The Kulasekaramudaiyar temple at Tenkasi is incomplete and it is possible to infer that he died before completing the building of the temple This temple, is of particular interest, as it contains a small mandapa to the north of the Dvajasthamba mandapa and it contains an entrance leading underground to the royal palace and traces of this underground passage constructed with great skill and ingenuity can be seen even today. Some of the inscriptions of this temple relate chiefly to Ativirarama and his endowments to this temple.

One of the records relating to the tenth year of the reign of Ativirarama I (A. R. E. 592 of 1916) states that he erected the Krishna temple at Srivilliputtur and provided for the conduct of worship in it for the merit of Virappa Nayaka who is evidently the contemporary of Ativirarama I in the Madura Nayaka dynasty. Ativirarama was a worshipper of Siva but at the same time he showed equal devotion to Vishnu as can be seen from the Vishnu temples he built at Tenkasi and Srivilliputtur.

The following inscription regarding the building of the Kulasekaramudaiyar temple at Tenkasi, may be quoted here :—

ஸகாப்தம் கசாஅ௰கூ-ல் மேற் செல்லா நின்ற ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீபுவனைகவீர........ ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீர ராமராய ஸ்ரீவல்லப தேவற்கு யாண்டு ரு-வது பிரபவ ஸம்வத்ஸரத்து உத்தராயணத்து ஹேமந்த ருதுவில் மகர ரவி ௩-ந் தேதியும் பூர்வபட்சத்து ஏகாதசியும் ஸோமவாரமும் சுபயோக சுபகரணமும் பெற்ற உரோஹணி நக்ஷத்திரத்து நாள் புநர் வஸு நக்ஷத்திரத்து ஜாதகரான ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமராய ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவரான நாம் உடையார் குலசேகர நாதனுக்கும் குழல்வாய் மொழிமங்கை நாச்சியார்க்கும் கர்ஷணாதி பிரதிஷ்டாந்தம் உபாநாதி ஸ்துபிபர்யந்தம் திருப்பணியும் செய்வித்துக் குலசேகரநாதனையும் குழல்வாய்

1. A. R. E. 535 of 1910 ; 490, 491 and 495 of 1918.
2. „ 498 and 501 of 1918.
3. „ 530 of 1918

மங்கை நாச்சியாரையும் பரிவார தேவதைகளையும் பிரதிஷ்டித்து நித்திய நைமித்தியங்களையும், உத்ஸவங்களும் நடந்து வரும்படிக்கு இதுகளுக்கு வேண்டும் செலவுக்கு விட்ட நம் வாசற்கணக்கர் இட்ட தைத்தடிப்படி குறுமறை நாட்டுக் குறுங்காளமான இராசசூரிய நல்லூர்க்கும் தோப்புக்கும் எல்லை...... இந்நாள் முதலுக்கு தேவதானமாக ஆசந்திரார்க்கம் இவ்வாலயம் உள்ள அளவாக செம்பிலும், சிலையிலும் வெட்டிக் கையாண்டு கொள்ளவும்". (S. I. I. V. 765)

IX

Ativirarama I as a patron of literature.

Ativirarama Pandya was a great patron of Tamil. It is clear from some of the epigraphs of his reign that he surrounded himself with learned men and encouraged them by his benefactions to live in his court, so that he could with their help study the classical works and compose verses. One of his court poets was Ramakrishna Kavi. Some of the literary celebrities of the Tirunelveli country who were the contemporaries of Ativirarama Pandya were invited by him to his court and encouraged to take part in literary discussions and writings.

He was himself a poet of great reputation. [1] One of his well known works is his rendering of *Naishadam*, the story of Nala into elegant Tamil verse. Whether the work was done entirely by himself or with the assistance of his court poet is a question which arises on account of the fact that the court poet Ramakrishna Kavi is more familiarly referred to as Naishadam Ramakrishna Kavi. It is however interesting in this connection to refer to the traditional

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(1) புவிபுகழுங் காசிகாண்டம் பொருவில்
  பராசரன் புதல்வன் புகன்றவாறே
செவிவழியின முதுகுத்ததென மதுரம் பொழி
  தமிழாற்றெரித்தல் செய்தா
மதிக்கொடை நிழற்றவோராழி
  திசையுருட்டி யொலிநீர்வேலை
யவனி புரந்தருள் வழுதியதிவீர ராமனி
  கலர சரேறே (காசிகாண்டம்)
கடலகமுழுதும் பொதிந்தபேழ் வயிற்றுக்கடவுள்
  மொட்டாமையம் பெருமான்
வடமொழிதொடுத்த தெய்வமாக்கதையை
  வடித் செந்தமிழுற் செய்தான்

account of the inauguration of this great Tamil classic. Ativirarama, soon after his rendering of Naishadam into elegant Tamil verse sent his work to his scholarly cousin Varatungarama Pandya who was residing at Karivalamvandanallur. The manuscript was sent through a royal messenger to Varatunga Pandya and the latter on receipt of the manuscript returned it to the royal messenger without even looking into it and at the same time asking the messenger to go back with the message that it was excellent. Ativirarama was so much provoked by the disdainful manner in which his work was treated by his cousin that he resolved to do away with the life of his royal cousin by his own hands and he therefore proceeded to Karivalamvandanallur with the object of killing him and when he reached the palace of his royal cousin and found that Varatunga was then performing 'puja' to Siva, Ativirarama waited behind the screen for the completion of the 'puja'. Varatunga Pandya, who was not aware of the presence of Ativirarama, sang his usual daily impromptu verses in praise of Siva.(1) Ativirarama who listened to this verse in praise of Siva was moved beyond measure by this devotional verse and felt so much ashamed of his foul intention that he threw away the sword and prostrated himself before Varatunga Pandya. Thereupon Varatunga bade Ativirarama to compose verses in honour of Siva as a sort of expiation of the sin of having composed verses in praise of a mortal

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படுமதஞ் செருக்கிப் பாகுடல் பிளந்து
   படர் இறைமழலை வண்டோச்சு
மடுசினக்களிற்று மானவேல் வழுதி
   யடலதீவிர பூபதியே. (கூர்மபுராணம்)
நிலவு பொழிற் தனிக்கவிகை நிடதர் கோன்
   புகழ்ச்சரித நெடுநீர்வைப்பிற்
புலவர்களியமுதொழுகு புதுமொழி கூட்டுணை
   தமிழார் புனைதல் செய்தான்
வலறுயர்த்த வண்ணலஞ் சேல்வானொருடு
   பொற்கோட்டிமய வரையிற்றீட்டி
யலர் தலைமா நிலம்புரக்கு மதிவீரராமனி கலரரேற" (நைடதம்).

(1) "சங்கக் குழையனைத் தென்கருவாபுரித்தாணுவை வான்
   கங்கைச் சடையனைப் பாடல் செய்யாத கவிப்புலவீர்
அங்கச் சுமைகொண்டெழு நான்குகோடி யழிநரகப்
   புங்கத்தில் வீழவன்றோ பொன்று வார்தமைப் பாடுவதே"

like Nala. The further part of the story is that Varatunga's wife who was also well versed in Tamil sang verses(1) on reading Ativirarama's rendering of Naishadam. Ativirarama's rendering of Naishadam in Tamil was based on the original Sanskrit work of the great Sanskrit poet Sri Harsha for which there are several classical commentaries in Sanskrit. Naturally Ativirarama who was familiar with the original Sanskrit work does not seem to have attempted a mere translation of the Sanskrit classic. Naishadam in the original Sanskrit composition contains 22 'Sargas' and the great author, Sri Harsha finishes the story with the marriage of Nala with Damayanti and the later misfortunes of Nala which are so familiar to every student of Naishadam are not recounted in the Sanskrit classic. Another Sanskrit work 'Nalodayam' and the Nala episode in the Mahabharata deal with the full story of Nala. The Tamil poem "Nalavenba" also deals with the story of Nala. It is reasonable to infer that Ativirarama must have been well acquainted with the previous works on the subject, and his elegant rendering of Naishadam into Tamil reveals his proficiency in both Sanskrit and Tamil and the following prefatory stanza[2] in Naishadam is further evidence that this great work was his own composition. There is an old saying that he who reads Naishadam will be immune from the clutches of 'Sani' (Saturn) and this sentiment is reflected in Ativirarama's Naishadam in the following stanza.[3] That Ativirarama was a close

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(1) நிலவு பொழு தனிக்கவிகை நிடதர்கோன் புகழ்
சரித நெடுநீர் வைப்பிற்
புலவர்களி யமுதொழுகு புதுமொழி கூட்டுணைத்தமிழாற்
புனைதல் செய்தாள்
வலனுயர்த்த அண்ணலஞ்சேல் வான்றொடு பொற்
கோட்டிமய, வறையீற்றீட்டி
யலர் தலைமா நிலபுரக்கு மதிவீர ராமனிகலரசரேறே"

(2) நிலவு பொழி தனிக்கவிகை நிடதர்கோன்
புகழ்ச்சரித.. ......புலவர்களியமு தொழுகு
புதுமொழிக் கூட்டுணைத்தமிழார் புனைதல் செய்தாள்
மதிவீர ராமனிக லரரசறேரே" (கலிநீங்கு படலம்).

(3) இழைத்த தீவினை தணந்தனனின்று தொட்டுன்பேர்
வழுத்தினுரையு மருவலன் மன்னவென் றேத்த
வழற்கொ டுஞ்சினந் தணிந்தன னடல்வே லரசன்
குழைத்த தான்றியி லேறினன் கொடிய வெங்கலியே
(நைடதம்-கலிநீங்கு படலம் கஎ-வது செய்யுள்)

student of the great Tamil classics may be evidenced by the close parallel of certain ideas in some passages of Naishadam with similar ones in 'Kambaramayanam', 'Jivakachintamani' and 'Chintamani'[1]

Ativirarama's literary reputation is also evidenced by his other works *Kurma puranam* (கூர்ம புராணம்), *Kasikandam* (காசி காண்டம்), *Tirukaruvai Antadis etc.* To him also belongs the credit of having written *Lingapuranam* (இலிங்கபுராணம்), *Kokkokam* (கொக்கோகம்), *Vayusangitai* (வாயுசங்கிதை). *Kasikandam* (காசிகாண்டம்) was one of his greatest works. It deals with the glories of the holy city of Kasi (Benares). It is also a rendering in Tamil of 100 chapters and 2525 stanzas. In point of literary merit, it is considered superior in some respects to his rendering of Naishadam. One or two verses from this work may be quoted to support the point. In describing the great-

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(1) தோயும் வெண்டயிர் மத்தொலி துள்ளவும்
ஆய வெள்வளை வாய்விட் டரற்றவும்
தேயு நுண்ணிடை சென்று வணங்கவும்
ஆயர் மங்கைய ரங்கை வருந்துவார் (கம்பராமாயணம்)

" முல்லைப்பங் கோதை நல்லார் முகமதி வெயர்வு தோன்ற
வல்லி நுண் மருங்குனோவ வால்வளைவாய் விட்டார்ப்ப
மெல்விரல் காந்தள் சேப்ப வெண்டயிர் கடையுமோதை
கொல்புலி முழக்க மென்ன வயின்றொறுங் குளிறுமாதோ "
(நைடதம்)

" கடதயிர்க்குரல வேங்கை கண்ணிறச் சென்று நண்ணி
மிடை மயிர்க் கவரி நல்லான் கன்றுணக் கண்டு நிற்பார்
புடைதிரண்டெழுந்த பொம்மல் வனமுலை பொறுக்க லாற்றார்
நடைமெலிந்திகலியன்ன நன்னடை நயந்து நிற்பார் "
(சீவக சிந்தாமணி)

கொங்கு விம்மு கோதையோடு கோதைதாழ வாண்முகம்
பங்கயத்தை மற்றோர் பங்கயத்து வைத்த பான்மைபோ
லங்கை சேர்த்தி மைக்கணீல வாலிசிந்தை வைகிய
மங்கை மென்முலைத்தடத்து மாரன் வாளி யேவினான்
(நைடதம்)

" கொங்கு விம்முபூங் கோதை மாதரார்
பங்க யப்பகைப் பருவம் வந்தென
வெங்குழல்லென வெலிமயிர்த் தொழிற்
பொங்கு பூம்புகைப் போர்வை மேயினார் " (சிந்தாமணி)

ness of the abode ('ashram') of Agastya, he puts it in an elegant stanza.[1]

Further in the chapter on Siva going to 'Agni ulakam', the description of the poet regarding the method of worship with the whole body is beatifully pictured in the following stanza.[2] That Kasikandam was translated into Tamil by Ativirarama is referred to in the following stanza.[3]

Another important work worth noticing is Kurmapuranam. It is one of the famous eighteen puranas and is divided into two parts, *viz.* Purvakandam (பூர்வகாண்டம்) and Uttarakandam (உத்தரகாண்டம்) of which the first is concerned largely with the description of the 'avatars' of Rama and Krishna and their doings, while the latter is concerned with the birth of the universe, the life of a householder and the great deeds of Siva. The two parts of the work viz. Purvakandam and Uttarakandam contain respectively 51 and 64 chapters and 3717 stanzas. The literary merit of the work can be appreciated by a reference to a few stanzas.[4] There is also a reference to this work as being the composition of Ativirarama.

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(1) "கேழற் பன்றி மருப்பினிலங் கிளையாகுமலி மேற்றுயிலும்
பேழ்வாய்க்கரடி மயிருளர்ந்து முதிர்சூன் மந்திபேனெடுக்கும்
ஊழிக்கனல்பாய்ந் தொழுகுவிழியுரகங் கீறி மேலுறங்கு
மாழைச் சிறுமான் குழக்கன்றை வந்துநரிக டைவருமால்"

(2) "சிறுவிர றன்னி னின்றுந் தற்சனி யளவுந் தீரா
வுறுவிரை கிடந்த வாற்று லொழிவறு மாயு ளெய்தும்
நறுமலர்த் தாள்க ளொத்துத் தசைந்து வேர் வெழாது நன்கா
யுறுபரடொத்த வாற்று லுறுப்பறு திருவ ஞவான்"

(3) "புவிபுகழுங் காசிகண்டம் பொருவில் பராசரன்புதல்வன் புகன்றவாறே
செவிவழியி னமுதுகுத்த தெனமதுரம் பொரு தமிழாற் றெரித்தல் செய்தாள்
உவவு மதிக்குடை நிழற்ற வோராழி யாற்றிசை யுருட்டி
யவனி புரந்தருள் வழுதி யதிவீர ராமனி கலரசரேறே"
(காசிகாண்டம்-சிறப்புப்பாயிரம்)

(4) "விழைவொடு தந்தை சென்னி மிலேந்தகூன் பிறையை நோக்கி
முழுமதி செய்து மென்றோர் கோட்டினை முறித்துத் தாங்கித்
தொழுதகு மன்பருள்ளற் றறியினிற் றுவக்குண் டோங்கு
மழைமதக் களிற்றின் செய்ய மலரடி வணங்கல் செய்வாம்"

Lingapuranam (இலிங்கபுராணம்) was also another work of translation of Ativirarama (1)

In conclusiou it is needless to add that Ativirarama is well known to students of Tamil literature by his famous literary composition வெற்றிவேற்கை. This literary work shows that both in its style and ideas, the author was a close student of the famous Tamil classic. Tirukkural and had imbibed the moral truths of that great ancient classic. This little masterpiece is also known by other names, as *Narunthokai* (நறுந்தொகை), *Sundara Pandyan Thokuthi*. There are some variants in the composition (2) of the poem in the form in which we have it to-day and this makes some literary savants doubt

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(1) " குறுங்கழத் தகல்வாய்ச் செங்கட் கூண்பிறைக் கோட்டுவெய்ய
மறங்கிளர் பன்றியாகி மண்முழு தகழ்ந்து தாயிற்
சிறந்தவன் கமல பாத மளப்பினுட் டேடிக் காணு
திறங்கிய வுள்ளத்தோடு மீட்டும் வந் திறைஞ்சினுனல் "

" கச்சையம் புகர்முகக் களிநல் யானைபோல்
வச்சிரத் தெயிற்றவன் மலைய வாலிசேய்
நச்சுவா ளவன்கையிற் பறித்து நாண் மலர்ச்
செச்சைதாழ் முடித்தலை சிதற வீசினுன் "

" கடலகமுழுதும் பொதிந்தபேர் வயிற்றுக்
கடவுண் மோட்டாமையெய் பெருமான்
வடமொழி தொகுத்த தெய்வமாக் கதையை
வடித்த செந்தமிழினுற் செய்தான்
படுமதஞ் செருக்கிப் பாகுடல் பிளந்து
படர்கின்ற மழலைவண் டோச்சு
மடுசினக் களிற்று மானவேல் வழுதி
யட்லதி வீரபூ பதியே "

(கூர்மபுராணம்—சிறப்புப்பாயிரம்).

(2) Compare
" அறிவோர்க் கழகு கற்றுணர்ந் தடங்கல் "
With
" அறிஞர்க்கழகு கற்றுணர்ந் தடங்கல் "
Similarly. Compare
" அன்றைப் பகலே அழியினும் அழிவர் "
with
" அன்றைப் பகலே அழிகினும் அழிகுவர் "

whether the work has come down to us in its original composition. There s little doubt that Ativirarama was the author of வெற்றிவேற்கை. (1)

The literary atmosphere of the time, particularly in the Tirunelveli country then ruled by Ativirarama and his co-regents is reflected by the equally literary rayal celebrities, who were the contemporaries of Ativirarama. The most notable of them is Ativirarama's royal cousin Varatungarama whose *guru* was Isana-munivar as is evidenced by the following stanza (2) in which he pays his homage to his literary preceptor. Varatunga's royal consort was also a highly cultured woman. When Varatungarama had gone to take part in the famous battle of Vallam on behalf of the Madura Nayaks, Varatunga's consort is said to have composed certain verses expressing her yearnings on account of the absence of her husband in the battlefield. (3) The literary acumen of Varatungarama's royal consort is seen in her well-known comments on reading Ativirarama's

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(1) "வெற்றி வேற்கை வீரராமன்
கொற்கை யாளி குலசேகரன் புகல்
நற்றமிழ் தெரிந்த நறுந்தொகை தன்னால்
குற்றங்களைவோர் குறைவிலா தவரே"

(2) "தேசான சிவஞானச் செஞ்சுடரான் மும்மலமாம்
மாசான விருளகற்றி மன்னுயிரைப் புரந்தளித்துத்
தூசானை யுரியசைத்தோன்றால் சமைய நிறுத்து நிம்பை
ஈசான முனிவனிணையடியை யிறைஞ்சுவாம்
(பிரமோத்தரகாண்டம்—குருவணக்கம்).

(3) "செப்பாரு முகிழ் முலையா ரெல்லாருங் கணவருடன் சேர்ந்து வாழ
ஒப்பாரு மில்லாவென் கணவருடன் யான் கூடியுறவாடாமல்
எப்பாலு மிகுகாமத் துயராலும் நாடோறு மெலிந்து வாடி
இப்பாடுபடவென்றோ விறையவனென்றலை யோட்டிலெழுதினாளே.
என்னைய ரறமறந்தும் யானவரை மிக நினைந்திங் கிருந்து வாட
முன்னை வினைப்பயன்றானோ வப்பிறப்பிற் செய்ததவ முடிந்தவாறோ
கன்னன்மத னபிராமன் வரதுங்க ராமனியற் காசி நாட்டில்
அன்னவயற் குருகினங்காளினி யெவ்வாறுயிர் தரித்திங் காற்றுமாறே.
எண்டிசா முகமுந் திங்களிள நிலா வெள்ளங் காயக்
கொண்டமால் பெருகுந்தோறுங் கொழுங்கணீர் முலையிற் கோப்பப்
பண்டு நா மறியாக் காமத்துயரினாற் படுவதெல்லாம்
வண்டு காளுரையீருங்கள் வரதுங்க ராமனுக்கே.

rendering of Naishadam that the composition of Ativirarama was like that of a dog running at full speed and exhausting itself.

Varatungarama's literary gifts are seen in his ready improvisations as for instance the stanza[1] he composed and sent to Ativirarama on seening the latter's rendering of Naishadam. Varatungarama was thus another literary celebrity. Like Ativirarama, he was not only an accomplished scholar but also a patron of both Sanskrit and Tamil scholars. He was the author of Brahmottarakandam and of Kokkokam etc. in Tamil. According to tradition Varatungarama and his wife after their daily worship in the temple used to improvise, elegant Tamil verse in praise of Siva. Two of these typical verses have been preserved. The various verses composed by this royal scholar comprise Karuvaikalithurai Antadi, Pathirrupattu Antadi and one of the verses[2] in Kalithurai Antadi was composed by him in such a manner as to move Ativirarama to repentance. Among the learned men of the court may be mentioned first of all Swamidevar[3] alias Ganapati pattar, one of the gurus of Ativirarama Pandya as is evidenced by an epigraph which states that the same person was also the guru of Abhirama Parakrama. Another teacher of Ativirarama Pandya was Isanamamunivar (ஈசானமா முனிவர்)[4].

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(1) செஞ்சுடரோன் மைந்தனையுந் தென்னிலங்கை வேந்தனையும்
பஞ்சவரிற் பார்த்தனையும் பாராதே—மிஞ்சு
விரதந்தனைக்கொண்டு மெய்யன்பு பூண்ட
பரதனையும் ராமனையும் பார்.

(2) "சங்கக் குழையனைத் தென்கரு வாபுரித் தாணுவைவான்
கங்கைச் சடையனைப் பாடல்செய் யாத கவிப்புலவீர்
அங்கச் சுமைகொண் டெழுநான்குகோடி யழிநரகப்
பங்கத்தில் வீழவன்றோ பொன்றுவார்தமைப் பாடுவதே"

(3) The following references by Ativirarama to his guru are noteworthy :—

"சூழ்சுடர் ஞானத்திருவுரு வமைந்த சுவாமிதே
வன்பதம் பணிவாம்" (கூர்மபுராணம்)

"அருட் கடைக் கண்ணளித்தாண்ட சுவாமிதே வன்னிருதா ளகத்துள்
வைப்பாம்" (காசிகாண்டம்)

(4) Though the Tamil Language and literature had attained a high level of excellence and the Court of Ativirarama was adorned by a galaxy of literary men, very few among the common people seem to have been well versed in reading and writing. It is clear from some of the inscription that

We also know the names of other literary scholars of the time, particularly Kasikaliyan Kavirayan (காசிக்கலியன் கவிராயன்) who was partronised by Varatungarama in particular. Nirambavazhagiyar, (நிரம்பவழகியர்) the author of Sethupuranam, and Paranjoti, the author of Tiruvilayadalpuranam are said to be the contemporaries of Ativirarama Pandya, Though the author of Sethupuranam was a contemporary of Ativirarama Pandya, he does not seem to have adorned the court of the Pandyan ruler. According to Caldwell (1). Paranjoti was asked by Ativirarama to compose Tiruvilayadalpuranam but we have no authentic evidence in support of this statement.

Ativirarama invited to his court Asukavirasa Singham *alias* Cherai Kavirasa Pillai and asked him to compose Kalathinathar Kattali Kalithurai (காளத்திநாதர் கட்டளை கலித்துறை). We also know another court poet of his time by name 'Sivanda Kavirasu'.

Ativirarama as a true scholar did not allow himself to be surrounded by mere flattering courtiers and this is revealed by some of the stories of the time which have been handed down to posterity. The Muse of History is nowadays too disdainful of any information that does not reach here signed and countersigned. In the handling of historical material, it would be a mistake to accept none but documentary evidence, since tradition if it does not give truth of fact, at least gives us truth of impression. The story goes that Ativirarama's work on Naishadam was inaugurated in the presence of some of the learned poets who were asked to pronounce their opinion on the literary merits of the work, and learned court poets compared it without fear or favour to a sugarcane. The implication of the comparison is that the work does not maintain the same level of excellence from beginning to end and in this respect it is like the sugarcane whose sweetness decreases from the stem to the top.

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most of the common people were not literate and one of the inscription may be quoted here support of this inference.

"அது நிலமை அழகிய நாடள்வாள்தற்குறிக்கும், விருதடக்கி நாடாள் வாள்தற்குறிக்கும் உற்றிடத்துதவிதற்குறிக்கும்......தென்னங்கள் தற்குறிக்கும் ஆக இவ்விளவர்தற்குறியும் மாட்டெடறிந்து இப்படிப் பிடிபாடு மெழுதிள இவ்வூர் தந்திரக் கணக்கு அழகிய பாண்டியர் விழுப்பரையனெ முத்து"

(1) "History of Tinnevelly, P. 21.

X

Later Pandyan Polity.

A noteworthy feature of the later Pandyan dynasty is that it was comparatively free from foreign aggressions except for the Muhammadan invasions which took place in the 14th century. The political and social institutions therefore have never been seriously interfered with.

During the period occupied by the reign of the later Pandya kings, the Vijayanagara sovereigns were supreme in Southern India and towards the end of it, the Nayaks of Madura became settled in Madura and Tinnevelly. Consequently the country over which these Pandyas ruled must have been quite limited.

The later Pandyas were therefore more or less feudatories of the Vijayanagar rulers. They adopted the Varaha or Bhuvarahamurthi as an additional emblem of their family along with their carp and hook. It is to be accounted for by the subordination of the Pandyas to the Vijayanagar suzerainty, as the Vijayanagar emblem is the boar

As the Pandyas traced their descent from the moon (Chandra). the son of Atri, the later Pandyas claim to belong to the Atreya, Gotra and they regarded the sage Agastya as their Kula-guru. It is noteworthy that the later Pandyas have gone in for names ending in Rama. Thus we have Kaliyugaraman, Abhiraman, Ahavaraman, Ativiraraman, Gunaraman, Varatungaraman etc.

The king was recognised as the head of the government and his authority was supreme and he was respected by all bodies of people who were entrusted with distinct and independent functions.

The country was divided into territorial divisions for administrative purposes and entrusted to officers. The chief administrative officers were Amaichar (அமைச்சர்) padaithalaivar (படைத்தலைவர்) Araiyar (அரையர்) Naduvagaiseyyvor (நாடுவகைசெய்வோர்), Varielar (வரியிலார்) etc. The officers called *Araiyar* were ministers looking after the internal administration. The *naduvagaiseyyvor* were concerned with the measurement and general supervision of the lands of the *nadus*. The *varielar* were the accountants concerned with the keeping of the accounts of land, tax etc. The royal officers were honoured by special titles as "Thondaiman' etc. One of the noteworthy features of the

later Pandya rule is the prevalence of the parallel double ruler system. The texts of several inscriptions clearly point to this fact. (T. A. S. Vol. VI).

The country was divided into *nadus* as *Tenvarinadu* (தென்வாரிநாடு) *Vadavārinādu* (வடவாரிநாடு). *Kurumalainadu* (குறுமலைநாடு), *Murapunadu* (முரப்புநாடு) *etc.*, and the survival of the old territorial division is still found in place-names as *murapunad* of the Tinnevelly district being called by the old name, and, in the case of villages, such names as Sundarapandyapuram. Virapandyapatnam, Ativirarama-pandyapatnam etc., in the Tinnevelly district exemplify the practice of being called after the rulers. Some of the temples also contain the images either in stone or bronze of the famous Pandya kings, e. g. the Kuttalam temple, the Visvanathaswami temple at Tenkasi where the image of Arikesari Parakrama is paid special honours on particular days of the year.

Some of the lithic records show that the kings encouraged learning and culture by munificent grants to scholars and patronised arts and crafts most liberally. The later Pandyas patronised Tamil and some of the kings themselves as Ativirarama, Varatunga-rama, were great composers of verses. The laudatory verses reveal the aptitude of the people to compose verses and contain a number of words referring to the governance of the country.

Numerous inscriptions of the period show that the kings lavished their wealth in building temples and other pious works with the object of securing merit. Many works of public utility in the form of tanks roads, avenue trees all over the Tinnevelly district bear evidence of having been planned and constructed by the Pandyan rulers.

All the accounts of the temples, royal courts etc. seem to have been written in 'olai' (palmyra leaves) Valuable services were rewarded with grants of the entire income of villages. The account-ants were paid in kind. The taxes levied on land seem to be comparatively light and paid in kind which shows the comparative scarcity of money and the abundance of grains grown on the land. This is also evident from the huge endowments of lands to the temples. In fact, several villages were gifted away for the maintenance of temples. That some of the taxes were levied as a pro rata share of the income of the person may be seen from such current terms as, *pattam*', '*kadamai*' in the Tinnevelly district.

The weights and measures prevalent in the later Pandya period could be clearly inferred from the inscriptions of the period. Some of these weights and measures are still found in the Tinnevelly district. Some of them are known by the names of the rulers, such as 'Vira Pandyan kol' and in some of the temples these measures were named after the principal deities. The inscriptions throw much light on the weights and measures. Grains such as paddy, rice pulse etc., and liquids such as ghee, oil, curds etc. were sold by measures. For instance. some of the Tinnevelly temple inscriptions refer to the weights and measures as 'Anavaratanan' (அனவரதானன்) Some details of the measures are set-forth below.

(Kal	=	Marakkal)
5 Chevidu	=	1 Alakku
2 Alakku	=	1 Ulakku
2 Uri	=	1 Nali
8 Nali	=	1 Kuruni
2 Kuruni	=	1 Pathakku
3 Kuruni	=	1 Mukkurni
2 Pathakku	=	1 Thuni

Measures:—18 Adikōl formed the unit of measurement. In some temple walls, a line of the length of this unit is drawn and this is referred to in the inscriptions.

Weights:—

40 Kani	=	1 Manchadi
10 Mā	=	1 Manchadi
4 Kani	=	1 Mā
2 Kunri	=	1 Manchadi
20 Manchadi	=	1 Kalanju

These weights were used for weighing gold and silver, and other precious metals.

Coinage and ornaments:—

The coins used were scanty owing to the paucity of gold and silver and the little gold and silver that were used were imported from outside. Gold and silver so obtained were largely used for

temple purposes. The workers in gold and silver had attained a high level of excellence. All the jewels made for the temple were remarkable for their exquisite workmanship. The chief ornaments then in vogue were *Thirumudi* (திருமுடி), *tali* (தாலி), *Karai* (காரை), *Annam* (அன்னம்), *Kiḷi* (கிளி), *Vāḷi* (வாளி), *Sūthi* (சுத்தி), *Kandaithodar* (கண்டைத்தொடர்), *Silambu* (சிலம்பு), *Pathakam* (பதக்கம்), *Prabhai* (பிரபை), *Maṃpinchu* (மாம்பிஞ்சு) etc.

The kāsu (காசு) was one of the prevailing coins of the period and one kāsu was equal to ten poṇ (பொன்) as evidenced by the Tiruchendur stone inscription of Varagunapandya. (Ep. Indica, Vol. XXI, No. 17) The Tamil literature of the period refers to the coins then prevalent as kāsu and poṇ, as for instance காசும் பொன்னும் கலந்து தூவியும் of the poets of the time.

Temples and Art:—The later Pandyas continued the glorious tradition of their predecessors in building temples and endowing them with land and founding *agraharas*. The Brahmans received and enjoyed the patronage of the rulers. Several inscriptions of the later Pandyas testify to the gift of lands and other perquisites granted to the Brahmans. Some of the temples as well as villages founded by these rulers were named after them, and in the case of the temples built by the sub kings, the temples came to be called after their suzerains. e. g. Kulasekharamudaiyar of the Tenkasi and the Ilanji temples, and Salivatipati of the Tinnevelly temple etc. Large sums of money were spent for *abhishekam* and *pujas* on the day of asterism of the rulers and a large number of people were able to carry on their livelihood by temple perquisites. Some of the temples of the Tinnevelly district built by the later Pandyas are outstanding monuments of the art and architecture of the time, as for instance, the beautiful sculptural works of the Olakka-mandapa of the Tenkasi temple. This mandapa in the temple of Visvanatha at Tenkasi contains exquisite sculptures which are worked on huge pillars and display boldness of design, skill, elaborate ornamentation, minute detailed workmanship of the various parts and a high degree of polish and are admirable specimens of the art and sculpture of the mediaeval period of South Indian history.

APPENDIX A

Classified List of Ativirarama's Inscriptions.

Saka 1483
3rd year

(Sokkalingaswami temple)

Registers an assignment of land made under the orders of the king to a native of Karaiyur in Karaivala nadu as a lañchanāi-kanīyaṭchi of the two temples. (A. R. E. 617 of 1918)

Saka 1488
3rd year

(Same temple)

Records the gift of the village of Idaikal in Vaḍavarīnādu and lands under the tank Kulasekhara-pērēṟī excluding the devadānas, tiruvidaiyaṭṭam, agarappaṟṟu, madappuram etc., for worship thrice daily, festivals, offerings and other services in the Vishnu temple constructed by the king under the name Sivala-Vinnavar-Emberumān. (A. R. E. 501 of 1918)

Saka 1488
3rd year

(Same temple)

Gift of a village in Vaḍavari-nādu excepting the *devadāna* and *brakmadēya* lands in it, for conducting worship thrice daily, for *Bhūtavali* offerings, and for festivals in the same temple. (A. R. E. 491 of 1918)

Saka 1488
3rd & 4th years.

(Same temple)

Records the building of the temple cālled Śrivala-Vinnavar-Emberumāṉ alias Alagar by the king and provides for worship and offerings to the same. (498 of 1918)

Saka 1489
5th year

(Same temple)

Gift of land called kaṇiyaṭchi to a private individual for writing the temple accounts. Mentions Parakrama-Pāṇḍya-pērēri in Vaḍavari-nādu. (497 of 1918)

Saka 1489
5th year

(Same temple)

Gift of land and a house-site as a *Kaṇiyaṭchi* to another individual for keeping the accounts of the devotees (*toṇḍar*) (494 of 1918)

Saka 1819
5th year.

(Kulaśekharamudaiyār temple)

Records the construction of the temples of Kulasēkharanatha, Kulalvaymolimaṅgai-Nachiyār and the *parivāra-dēvadas* situated on the certain side of Dakshina–Kaśi on the north bank of Chitra river, renewal of the services and festivals and the grant of lands in Vaḍavarinādu to meet the expenses of worship etc. (490 of 1918)

Saka 1490
5th year.

(Same place)

Unfinished and damaged–seems to record a gift of land and a house to a certain Paluguśuṉai for the temple watch (*tirumēñik-kavaḷ*). (589 of 1918)

Saka 1490
6th year.

(Same temple)

Records gift of two gardens to the same temple for the *vasanta* festival by the officer Kodandarāman Sivala Kalingarāyan and another temple of Kulasekharanatha. (492 of 1918)

Saka 1490
6th year.

(Same temple)

Gift of lands as paḍaiviḍu to Kulaśekhara–Nayiṉār. Mentions Kulasekharanallur in Teṇṇari–nādu and Puliyūr Parakramapandya-Chaturvedimaṉgalam. (496 of 1918)

Saka 1492
7th year

(Kuttalam temple)

Gift of land as a Kaniyakshi to the accountant of Tirukkuṟṟālam in Teṇṇāri-nādu. (497 of 1918)

Saka 1492
8th year.

(Same temple)

Records gift of land in Marudangulam in Teṇṇāri–nādu for certain services in the Tenkasi temple. (495 of 1918)

Saka 1493

(Same temple)

Records gift of lands to Brahmanas and Sudras for doing service in the temple of Sriviṇṇagaram. Mentions Kulasekharanallur in Teṇṇāri–nādu and the temple of Kulasekharamuḍaiyar. (499 of 1918)

Saka 1493
9th year,

(Visvanathaswami shrine) (damaged).

Seems to register a gift of land for conducting a festival to the image of Vitaraṇavinōda-Perumal, (555 of 1918)

Saka 1493
9th year

(Same temple)

Commences with the words Bhuvanaikavira etc. The king is also called Śivaḷamaran–Records a tax-free gift of land for

Śrivali and festivals to the temple of Nayinar–Sivalavinnavar–Emberumāṉ at Puliyur alias Kulasekharanallur in Teṉṉari-nādu. Records also a gift of land at Vindaṇūr in Kuṟumaṟainādu made for the Ramānujakūdam built in front of the shrine of the God by Uḍaiyar Kulasekhara Kaḷiṅgarāyan. (A. R. E. 500 of 1918)

Saka 1494
10th year. (Same temple)

Records a grant of tax-free land under the tank Kulasekharap-Pērēri in Ari-nādu and a house to Abhishēkach-chokkaṇār Sēvagadeva and others as ilānjiṇai Kāṇiyatchi in the temple. (A. R. E. 597 of 1918)

Saka 1494
10th year. (Same temple)

Registers a tax-free gift of land to the temple as a tiruvāḷi-Kāniyatchi. (A. R. E. 598 of 1918)

Saka 1494
10th year.

Records that Meykkumperumal Parakrama-Pandya-Mudali constructed the mandapa in front of the shrine of the goddess and gave lands for offerings etc., required on the 6th day of Masi-tirunal when the ceremony of the goddess giving her milk to Sambanda was being celebrated for Avani festival and for the Vasanta of the god. He gave lands to Ummaiyorupāga-mudali for the maintenance of a maṭa. The lands were made tax-free by an order of the prince Abhiramasundara. (601 of 1918)

Saka 1494
10th year. (Lokanayaki Amman temple)

Gift of land free of all taxes under the tank called Segaviraramap-pereri for a flower garden to the temple of Visvanatha. (595 of 1918)

Saka 1495
10th year. (Same temple)

Gift of houses and garden land at the order of Abhiramasundara-varman to four persons for doing the service of Tirumenikaval and tiruvandikkappu in the temple of the goddess Ulagamuludu-mudaiya Nayaki. (596 of 1918)

Saka 1495
11th year (Same temple)

Records a gift of land by the king for the recitation of the Vedas (adhynam) in the temple. (487 of 1918)

Saka 1495
11th year.

Gift of 2 ma of land made tax free to Meykkum Perumal Parakrama Pandya Mudali as a kāṇiyatchi of his Kaṇkānikāṇam. (602 of 1918)

Saka 1495
11th year. (Same temple)

Relates to the grant registered in No. 602. The land is stated to be situated in Malaiyadikkurichchi in Ariyanadu. (603 of 1918)

Saka 1496
12th year.

(Same temple)

Gift of land and a house-site to a certain Tirunelvelipperumal Vallavarayar for keeping the accounts of the servants (*Kanmi*) in the same temple. (493 of 1918)

Saka 1496
12th year.

(Same temple)

Records gift of land made to a certain Meykkumperumal Parakrama-Pandya-Mudali for conducting the vasantha festival of the goddess, (599 of 1918)

Saka 1493
12th year

(Lokanayaki Amman Shrine)

Gift of land in Kunrakkudi, a village of Tennāri-nādu and a house made at the instance of prince Varatunga Pandya for *adhyayana* in the temple. (A. R. E. 584 of 1918)

Saka 1496
17th year.

(Panpuli temple)

Registers a gift of land to a certain Tondaimān of Tirunelvēli in Kilvemba-nadu made at the instance of Varatungarama for writing accounts (tavanai kanakku). (661 of 1918)

Saka 1493
17th year.

(Same temple)

Registers a gift of land at Ilañgi in Teṇṇādu by the king. (A. R. E. 489 of 1918)

Saka 1498
14th year.

(Same temple)

The king is stated to have remitted taxes on certain lands in favour of the temple of Tirukkuṟṟalamudaiya Nāyanār for conducting the sacred bath. (488 of 1918)

Saka 1498
14th year.

(Same temple)

Grant of a house etc. to Tillaiyuḻḻadi Urudaiya-Mudali by the order of prince Varatungarama. (604 of 1918)

Saka 1499
15th year.

(Kuttalam temple)

Gift of land and house to a resident of Arur in Kuḍanāḍu for performing worship in the temple of Kuttalanatha. (406 of 1918)

Saka 1504
20th year.

(Same temple)

Registers a grant of land and a house at the instance of Varatungarama to a certain Ayyanayiṇāṇ and others for the service of Tirumēnikaval and Ṭiruvandikkāppu. (600 of 1918)

Saka 1507
19th year.

(Same temple)

Registers a gift of land for a water-shed at Arinapatiksha-Chaturvedimangalam in Kallaga-nadu by a certain Lakshmi-narayana. (A. R. E. 614 of 1918)

Saka 1507
19th year.

(Same temple)

Gift of land for worship to the shrine of Ekkaladevi in Tenkasi in Tennāṛi-nādu. Mentions a number of officers of the king among whom figures Muṇayadaraiyaṇ. (410 of 1918)

Saka 1513
26th year.

(Svaminathasvami Shrine)

Records that the king issued an order for the grant of certain lands and tanks in Gunaramanallur for the sacred bath and worship of the images of Śyāmanatha and Nagēsvari set up in the temple of Pachchaiyappa Nayaka. (482 of 1918)

Saka 1513
26th year.

(Lokanayaki Amman shrine)

Seems to register a gift of land made at the instance of Varatungarama to a certain Kaliyan Kavirayan for keeping watch in the temple. (558 of 1918)

Saka 1509
25th year.

(Lokanayakiamman Shrine)

Grant of a land called Iḍomalaikkulam at Tenkasi in Teṇṇari-nādu made at the instance of Varatungarama to a certain Senbagavanapperumal of the lineage of Uruḍaimudali of the *matha* located near the car stand. (582 of 1918)

Saka 1509
25th year.

(Same temple) (damaged)

Seems to register a gift of land. (486 of 1918)

Saka 1512
28th year.

(Same place)

Registers a gift of land in Gunaramanallur, a village of Tennari nadu for the sacred bath and offerings to a Sahasralinga in the temple of Tirukkurralamuḍaiyār set up by a native of Iḍattuvēli in Vembūr-nādu (485 of 1918)

Saka 1519
34th year

(Dharanipitha Shrine)

Records that the king made a gift of land for worship in the temple and the feeding of Brahmanas. (484 of 1918)

Saka 1522
38th year.

(On a stone on the road side at Idaikal) Records that a portion of Kiḷañgāṭṭur was formed into a new village called Sivalanallur by Ṣivalamaṛa who ṛevived the old times (653 of 1918)

Saka 1526 (Chidambaresvara temple, Puliyur)

Registers a gift of land in Seṅgottai for worship and repairs to the temple of Chidambaresvara (399 of 1918)

Saka 1527 42nd year. (Kuttalam temple)

Commences with the words Bhuvanakavira-Madhuramahendra. Seems to register the grant to a private individual of the right of presenting the offerings to the God. (405 of 1918)

Saka 1527 2nd year. (Lokanayaki-Amman Shrine)

Registers a gift of land at the instance of the king for offerings and worship to the Goddess Ulagamuludumudaiyar-Nachiyar as an *abishekakattalai* in a shrine newly constructed by a certain Tadi Sadaichchi. (580 of 1918)

(Same place)

Relates to the appointmēnt of a woman-servant for doing menial service in the shrine mentioned in No. 580 above. (531 of 1918)

APPENDIX B

Abstract of Contents of the Pudukkottai grant

Verse 1. Praise of Brahma.

V 2. Praise of Vishnu

V 3. Praise of Siva

V 4. Praise of Krishna

V 5. Praise of Ganesa

V 6. Gives the *Pauranic* geneology ; Vishnu, his son Brahma, his son Atri, his son Chandra (the moon).

V 7. Praises of the Pandya dynasty.

V 8. Praise of that Pandya before whom the turbulent sea that swelled to destroy the kingdom became only knee deep.

V 9. Praises of the Pāndya who wrested from the lord of *devas*, Indra, one half of his throne.

V 10. Praise of the Pandya who churned the sea with the Adipurusha and of him who broke the crown of Indra.

V 11. Praises of the Pandya, who proceeded against the lord of the *devas* for the help of the *asuras*, and of him who gave a thousand elephants to a woman who begged for them.

V 12. Mentions Tataka and her husband, the god Siva of Madura and Soundara Pandya. Their son Ugra Pandya.

V 13. In this family were born two brothers Abhirama and Ahavarama. (For an abstract of the geneology detailed here, see the General Introduction.) T.A.S. VI.

V 18. The son of Tirunelveli-perumal, Ativirarama Pandya ruled the earth.

V 19 Ativirarama Pandya having died Srivallabha was anointed king by the ministers.

Vv 20–27. Praises of Srivallabha.

Vv 28-30. Abhirama Parakrama, His praises.

V 31. Parakrama's son was Gunarama. His praises.

Vv 32–33. Gunarama's brother was Varatungarama. Among his praises are that he rooted out his enemies and was famous like Bhoja (in literary capacity.)

Vv 34–41½ His praises.

Vv 41½–61½ In the Saka year 1505 (expressed by the faces of Siva, *vyoma bhutas*, and *indu*), which corresponded with the 21st year after the coronation of Ativirarama Srivallabhadeva and the cyclic year Subhanu, on a Tuesday, the Panchami and the fifth day in the dark, half of the month Caitra, in the Vasanta-ritu, Uttarayana, in the Harshana-yoga, Taitulakarana and the Mula nakshatra, the following villages were granted, in the presence of the gods Kurralesvara, and Karamarddesvara to a number of Brahmanas of various sakhas, gotras etc., by the kings Srivallabha and Varatungarama :—

(1) Iluppaiyadippatti, given by Srivallabha, situated in the adinadu in the Pandyaraja.

(2) Contiguous with it, the villages of Valangai–migaman and Sivakalaiyak-kuruchchi, given by Varatungarama.

(3) Pudukkottai,

These were clubbed together under the name of Timmapuram. The boundaries were as follows :—

On the north by Sevvaliruppu ; in the north-east, Kottaneri ; on the east, the stone bearing the *Vamana-mudra* in the village of Sengudi ; on the south-east, Vellur ; on the south, Periya Kaliyakkuruchchi ; on the south–west, Mangalagrama and the *vamana* stone set in the middle of the river, Arjuna-nadi on the west, Kalagur-sima near the Arjuna-nadi and on the north-west, Kadambankulam alias Tirumalabhatta-gramam.

Vv. 61½–67 Here Tirumalaraja is introduced. His grand-father was Rama Nayaka ; father, Timma Nayaka, He was the chief of Chintalapalli, was a devout worshipper of the god Sri Ranganatha (of Srirangam), was a great supporter of the Brahmanas etc., brave in war, generous, just and courteous. He employed in his wars against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots.

Vv. 68–77 Tirumalai Nayaka, who was devoted to Virapparaja, having requested Srivallabharaja and Varatungaramaraja, who pay regard to the requests of Tirumalai, granted with all appurtenances such as gardens, tanks, channels, etc., with the eight kinds of enjoyments, by pouring of water, to a number of good Brahmanas.

Vv. 78–83 State that Tirumalai Nayaka moved in the matter of the grant under the religious teaching of Tammarasa, his *pradhana* and religious teacher. This Tammarasa, who was instrumental in bringing into existence the *agrahara* named Timmapuram, built in it a temple of Brahma and a tank.

Vv. 84–159 Here follow the list of donees :—

V. 160 The agrahara of Timmapuram alias Chintalapalli which contains the temple of Brahma, was made by Tirumalairaja for the merit of his father Timma Nayaka.

Vv. 161–164 When, in Vidyanagari the famous Aliya Ramaraja was killed by his enemies, Basavaraja who was, in the vast ocean of distressed human beings, took the shelter under Tirumalai Nayaka, the latter protected him from his enemies, Payati and Rachaviti and restored him to his native place.

But when the huge army of Venkataraja was coming against him, he saw in it Basavāraja, the ungrateful man who was once saved by him. Tirumalaraja killed this Basavaraja forthwith.

When, in the battle that ensued at Vallaprakara, the armies of Viraraja were destroyed and that of Achyutaraja fled away, Tirumalairaja collected all the horses from the battle-field.

Vv. 165–183 Benedictions to Tirumalraja, his sons, his nephews, his younger brother and his pradhana and a number of officers whose names are given in the Introduction at the beginning of this inscription.

Vv. 184–185 The writer of this document was Abhirama Sabhapati Kamakshi.

V. 186 · This was engraved on copper-plates by Narayana.

Vv. 187–191 The usual final imprecatory and benedictory verses.

Vv. 192–193½ Demarasa, the son of Timmarasa, of the Agastyagotra and of the Rigveda enjoys the three-fourths share in the two that were granted formerly by Varatungaraja.

Vv. 194½–197½ Benedictory Verses.

APPENDIX C

Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Ativirarama Pandya. Saka Samvat 1517

This grant has been noticed by Mr. R. Sewell in Vol. II of his 'List of Antiquities, Madras'; he says therein that these plates were then in the office of the Collector of Madura and writes about them as follows:—"A grant in three plates by one of the earlier Nayakas of Madura. It is in shape very much like the Vijayanagara plates but the character is Grantha. Language—Sanskrit, The first plate contains a fanciful account of the Pandyan kings, the last two being 'Abhi-Rama or Ativirarama Pandya,' and his son Ramabhi Rama Pandya. The second and third plates contain the details of the grant. By it, Rama Krishnappa, "sitting on the Lion-throne of Vallabha Narendra after 33 years have passed, and after SS 1517" granted the village of Nadikkudi to a number of Brahmans. The year of grant is SS 1518 (A. D. 1596). The 33 years may possibly refer to the date of the death of Visvanatha Nayakka (A. D. 1563). At the end of the plate is engraved a boar with a dagger standing on its nose." (List of Ant. Madras, p. 31, No, 211, List of Copper-plate grants).

After relating the legendary history of the Pandya family, the record gives the geneology of Ativirarama who was crowned under the name of Srivallabha. This inscription seems to call Ativirarama also Abhirama. His father was Vrihivritisvarasvami, and grand-father Abhirama Parakarama Pandya. In the 33rd year of the reign of Ativirarama Srivallabha which corresponded with S 1517 (expressed by the chronogram Satyamanya), prince Abhirama alias Ativira granted

at the request of Ramakrishnappa Nayaka son of Haridas, the village of Nadikkudi under the name of Ativiraramapura, to a number of Brahmanas. The exact date of the grant was a Monday, corresponding with the twelth *tithi* in the bright half of the month in which the sun stood in the constellation Simha, in the Varsharitu, Dakshinayana, in the year Durmukhi, S 1517. At the end of the document it is stated that it belonged to Abhirama and was written at the command of king Ativiraramavarma by Rajanatha Kavi, son of Svayambhu. Prince Abhirama alias Ativira is in this inscription said to have been born in the Dhanishtha nakshatra.

Though the passage where Abhirama alias Ativira is introduced appears to suggest that he was the son of Ativirarama Srivallabha, we know from other records that he was not the son but the cousin of Srivallabha; the geneology of the ruling king alone is given and the donor is introduced without any prefatory notice of him. The record is dated, again, in the 33rd year of the reign of Ativirarama Srivallabha and the village granted is also named after the reigning sovereign; it is called Ativiraramapura and not Ativirapura after the donor. Lastly the grant was drawn up by the command of Ativirarama Pandya. From all these, it is plain that Abhirama alias Ativira whom we know from various other records was the cousin of Ativirarama Srivallabha made the grant in the reign of the latter. Distinction has therefore to be made between the names Ativirarama and Ativira Pandyas. Ativirarama was the surname of Srivallabha, whereas Ativira or Vira Pandya was the name assumed by Abhirama on his coronation; his surname is Varatungarama.

The village granted was situated in the Pudukottai *sima*. The boundaries of it were, on the east. Silarippatti; on the south *Modaka-sima*: on the west, the Kangireddi tank, and that of Kadaneri and on the north, the way to Nallamattur sandai. It was divided into three major divisions which were made into forty-two shares and distributed among Brahmans whose names etc. are given in a table at the end.

The names of places that occur in this inscription are; Nadikkudi, Silarippatti Kadaneri Nallamattur sandai, Pudukkottai. Unduputtur, Vanivalam, Deharam, Marevalli, Rattendalapura and Darbhala. Of these, Nadikkudi, Pudukkottai are in the Srivilliputtur Taluka of the Tinnevelly district. Unduputtur must be a corruption of Urupputtur which is assumed as the family name by some Srivaishnavas.

APPENDIX D

Sambur-Vadagarai Inscriptions of Ativirarama and the Kalangadu Inscriptions.

Sambur-Vadagarai Inscriptions of the Reign of Ativirarama Srivallabha. Saka 1487:

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east wall of the *Mahamandapa* of the Mulasthanesvara temple at Sambur Vadagarai. It is dated the Saka year 1487, which was also the third year of the reign of the king Ativirarama Srivallabhadeva. In the year Krodhana, in the Uttarayana, the Hemantaritu. on Thursday, the 6th of the month Makara, the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight, the Mahendra-yoga and Varahakarana and nakshatra Mrigasirsha, one Irakkudapperumal, alias Kallapiran Sivala-kkalingarayan was appointed as the accountant of the Sribhandaram, etc., of the temple of Mulasthanesvara at Vindanur, by the order of the king.

Text

1 ஸஸாயஒசெதக ஸததழ ஸஉஷஸஸ°ரஜொகூஹி: ஸ்ரீஉஒூநாய ஶிவஶஹ்லோ[ஜ-ஃ]யதி ஶாஶ்வதழ ஶாஸ..
....
....

10 ....நாள் உலகு சிந்தாமணி வளநாட்டு கிடாரத்-

11 து இராக்குதப் பெருமாள் கள்ளப்பிரான் சீவலக்காலிங்கராய னுக்கு சீபண்டாரக்க-

12 ணக்கும் திருவாழி[யு]ம் கண்காணியும் திருமாலையும் காணி யாட்சையாக கற்பிக்கும்படி-

13 க்கு நம் குமாரன் அழகம் பெருமாள் அதிவீ[ர]ராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்[லபெ]தவநு. நம் வாசல் காரியம் நயினா-

14 [னுக்கு]ம் தானக் கணக்கு சொக்கன் கண்டிய தேவனுக்கு[ம்] தானிகருக்கும் ஓலை விடுகையில் சீபண்-

15 டாரக்கணக்குக்கும் திருவாழிக்கும் கண்காணிக்கும் திருமாலைக் கும் மற்றும் அற்றபடி உடை-

16 மையும் சொத்தும் மற்றுமுண்டான சுதந்திரங்களுக்கும் இது முதலுக்குபற்றிக் கொண்-

17 டு கணக்கும் எழுதிக்கொண்டு திருவாழி கண்காணி திருமாலை யும் செய்துகொண்டு காணி-

18 யாட்சையாக......................செம்பிலும் சிலையிலும் வெட்டிக் கைய்யாண்-

19 -டு கொள்ளவும் சூழிஉணையூறூ எழுத்து.

Kalangadu and Sambur-Vadagarai Inscriptions of Adivirarama Pandya. S. 1489 and 1492.

The two following inscriptions which record the appointments of temple officers are found in Kalangadu and Sambur-Vadagarai respectively. The one is engraved on the east wall of the *Mahamandapa* of the Jamadagnesvara temple at Kalangadu, while the latter is found on the north wall of the *Mahamandapa* of the Mulasthanesvara temple at Sambur-Vadagarai. At the beginning of the first is a Sanskrit verse written in the Tamil and the Grantha characters in the most faulty manner; the rest is in plain Tamil prose. It records that one Sikailayamudaiyan, alias Marattiru Vanadarayan of Ulagu-chintamanivalanadu was appointed to the accountantship of the temple of Jamadagnesvara at Kilangattur by the king, Ativirarama Pandyadeva. It is dated the Saka year 1489 which was also the 5th year of the reign of the king Alagan Perumal, alias Srivallabhadeva and Ativirarama Pandyadeva, the son of Tirunelvelipperumal Kulasekharadeva and grandson of Abhirama Parakrama Pandyadeva. The appointment took effect from Friday, the 24th of the month of Arpasi, which corresponded with the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight, the Simha-karna and Pushya nakshatra.

The Second record is dated the Saka year 1492, the cyclic year Pramoduta, which was also 8th year of the reign of Ativirarama Pandyadeva. On Monday the 25th of the month Kanni in the Dakshinayanam, which corresponded with the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight, in the Simha-karana and Subhayoga and the nakshatra Pushya, Tirumeniyalagiyan, alias, Tandaikkala Brahmadarayan of the Kasyapa gotra and Bodhayana Sutra was appointed to do the thirty days' puja in the temple of Mulasthana; the appointment was made by the king himself. As in the previous document the king's fathers's name is given and it is preceded by the usual later Pandya 'introduction' beginning with *bhuvanekavira*.

(I)

Text

1–9 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ ....விருத்திநாம்...............திரிபுவன சக்கிற-

10. வ்ததி கோ நேர்மைகொண்டான் அபிராம பரா

11 க்கிறம பாண்டிய தேவர் னந்தனரான அழகன்

12 பெருமாள் திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பா-

13 -மாலை [ய] ா [ய] குலசேகர தேவர்னந்தனரான அழகன்-

14 பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமனுன ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவற்கு ய-

15 -ாண்டு ருவ[து] பிறப[வ]ஷல அற்பசிமீ அபரபக்கத்து

16 இருபத்து நாலாந் தெய்தியும் சத்தமியும் சுக்கிற வாரமு-

17 -ம்சிங்ஙுகரணமும் பூசத்து நாள் பெற்ற உலகு சிந்தாம-

18 ணி வளநாட்டு கிடா ரத்தூர் சீகைலாயமுடையான்

19 ம[ற]த்தி [ரு] வாணுத பெருமாளுக்கு வடவாரி நாட்டு [கி]-

20 [ள] ா ங்க [ா] ட்டூர் நம் ஆலயத்துக்கு தன் மகத்த[ர்] கணக்கு

21 காணியாட்சையாக குடுக்கும்படிக்கு நம்குமரன்

22 திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பாமாலை-

23 யான் குலசேகர தேவர் னந்தனரான அழகன்பெருமாள்

24 அதிவீரராமன் சிரிவல்லவதேவர் நம் வாசல்........துர்க்கா-

25 றர்க்கு ஓலை வரவிடுகையில் நம் குமாரன் அழகன் பெருமாள்

26 அதிவீரராமனுன ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர் கற்பித்தமை ஆ-

27 -லே.......மம சீவலதேவறும் னம் அதிவீர ராம

28 ....தேவறும் ந................

(Six more lines damaged)

(ii)

1–13 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ.........................துவட்டமும் நம் ஸந்நிதி காணியாட்சையாக கல்பித்த படிக்கு நம் குமாரன்

14 அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர் ஓலை நம் வாசல் துக்காள-

15 க்கு வரவிடுகையில் நம் காரியம்·ருமனுதனும் காரியக்கணக்கு குற்ருவ[லு]ம்

16 சொக்கன் கண்டிய தேவனும் மடாபத்தியக் கணக்கு திருவலங் காத்தானும் நம்

17 ஆலயகணக்கு செண்பகராமக் குட்டி சீல மழவராயன் கணக் கின்படி விட்ட

18 குறுமறை நாட்டு விந்தனூர் பெரியகுளத்தின் கீழ்பத்தக்கால் ச [கண்ணாறு தடி] உ...............

19 ஆக மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு நம்பு உடமை நெல் கோட்டை க ஆகவும் சோறு ஸ்தனை

20 ங்களும் பயிர் எடுப்பு வுத்த வாசினையில் உள்ள ஸ்தனங்களுக் கும் பற்றிக்கொண்டு நம் ஓலைக்கு

21 எழுத்தும் இட்டு ஸர்வமான்யத்தியும் மனையும் மனைக்கூறும்........

22 -யும் உத்ஸவம் ப்ரதிஷ்டையும் தொன்றுங்கோவில் தொன்ருக கோவில் மற்றும் ஏற்பேற்-

23 பட்ட ஸமஸ்தப்ராப்திகளும் சூஉடு தாரவரை ஸந்ததிப்ரவேசமே செம்பிலும் வெட்டி

24 கையாண்டுகொள்ளவும்

Sambur-Vadagarai Inscriptions of the Reign of Ativira-rama Pandyadeva.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on the north wall of the mahamandapa of the Mulasthanesvara temple at Sambur-Vadagarai. It is dated S. 1494, cyclic year Angirasa. This year corresponded to the 10th year of the reign of Ativirarama Pandyadeva. In the Uttarayana and Sasiritu of this year, on Friday, the 15th of the Mina, which was also the 11th tithi of the bright, fortnight,

in the V..ija-karana and Pritiyoga and nakshatra Rohini, Tiruvannamalaippulavan Chidambaranathan alias Tirumulanatha Mudali of the Naduvumandalam was appointed to sing the Devaram hymns in the temple of Mulasthanesvara temple, by the king. He was recommended by Alaga Sokkanar Abhirama Pandyan. This last person must be Varatungarama, who, we have already seen, bore the name Abhirama Sundaresa.

Text

1–10 ஸஹஂஸ்ர............................அபரவக்ஷத்து ஏகாதசியும்.

11 ....ரோஹணி நக்ஷத்ரத்து நாள் (சோ)-

12 -ழுவ நாட்டு நடுமண்டலத்து பெறும்பற்றபுலீயூர் நயினர் திருவம்பலமுடைய ந-

13 -யினர் திருப்பூமண்டபத்தாரில்த் திருவண்ணமலைப் புலவர் சிதம்பரநாதன்

14 திருமூலநாத முதலிக்கு பண்டுடையும் மனையும் பழம் பேரையும் தவித்து திருப்பாட்டுக் காணியாட்சையாக கற்-

15 -பிக்கும்படிக்கு நம் குமாரன் அழகசொக்கனர் அபிராமபாண்டியன் ஓலை நம் வாச-

16 -ல் காரியம் இராமநாதனுக்கும் காரிய கணக்கு சங்கரனுக்கு-

17 -ம் கர்ம்மி தண்டை பிராம......கணக்கு சொக்கன்

18 கண்டிய தேவனுக்கும் நம் ஆலயகணக்கு செண்பகருமனுக்கும்

19 சீவலம்மருயனுக்கு ஓலையும் விடுகையில் திருப்பாட்டுக் காணி-

20 -யாட்சையும் உடமை சோறு சுதந்திரங்களும் கையாண்டு...... பற்றிக்கொண்-

21 -டு தொன்றுங் கோயில் தொன்றுக கொயிலும் மனையும் மனைக் கூறுந் தோட்டமும்

22 தோட்டக்கூறு மற்றுமெற்பட்டச் சம்பிருத்தியும் ஆசந்திர தாரவர் சந்ததி பிறவேசமே கல்லிலு-

23 [ஞ] செம்பிலும் வெட்டி கையாண்டு கொள்ளவும் சூதிவண்ணெழுத்து எழுத்து

Kalangadu Inscriptions of the reign of Ativirarama Pandyadeva. S. 1493.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on the north base of the central shrine of the Venkatachalapati temple at Kalangadu. They both record the grants of land made by the king to this temple. The first is dated S. 1493, cyclic year Prajotpatti; in this year, in the Uttarayana and Vasantaritu, on Friday, the 15th of the month Vaigasi, which corresponded with the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight, in the Subha-yoga and Subha-karana and nakshatra Uttara, the king Ativirarama, alias Alaganperumal Srivallabhadeva, granted some land to the god Tiruvengadanatha of Kilangattur. The king is said to have been born in the Punarvasu nakshatra.

The second inscription belongs to the same year but is dated Thursday, the 6th of the month Kanni, in the Dakshinayana and Varsha-ritu; this day was also the 3rd tithi of the bright half of the month, and nakshatra Asvati, Subha-karana and Subha-yoga. On this day the king granted once again some more land to the same temple of Tiruvenkatanatha of Kalangatur.

(1)

Text

1–2 ஸாஹஸ்ர ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ ஸக[ாப்தம் ௲௪௱௯௰௩] உன்மேற் செல்லா நின்ற.............அழகநு பெருமாள்

3 அதிவீரராமநு ஆய ஸ்ரீவலலபதேவர்கு ஆண்டு எட்டாவது......

4 ....அதிவீ[ரரா] மநு ஆய ஸ்ரீவலலபதேவர் ஆய நாம் கிளங் காட்டூரில் நயிநார் திருவேங்கடநாதற்கு திருவிடையாட்டம் ஸ—

5 வ-ஜோணூஷோஹவிட்ட நிழ வாசற்கணக்கர் இட்ட கைய்த்தடிப்படி வடவாரிநாட்டு பன்மொழி உள்ளிட்ட பற்றில் பண்டு உடையானையும் பழம்பேரையும் தவிர்த்து நிழ கண்டு உழவு திறந்து திருவிடையாட்டம் விட்டது—

6 -க்கு எல்லைகையாவது நாளிட்டு வென்றுன் கடமாக்குளம் உள் பட்டதுக்கு எல்லைகீள் எல்லை இலத்தூர் க............ழ மேற்படி குளத் தில் நீர் நக்கனுக்கும் மேற்கு தெநு எல்லை பழஞ்செய் கால்புரவுக்கு வடக்கு............